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less so; and the present restriction of immigration is likely to gradually weaken the adhesive power of both. It is the transition period that is the critical one. Only a rigid doctrinaire policy of forced uniformity, as contrasted with a policy of tolerating old heritages, would be likely to make those heritages harden into fanatical creeds.

When it is remembered that the immigrant press has a total circulation of nearly ten million, the importance of this factor for the future social history of America becomes apparent. This volume is a significant one, not only because it collects in usable form materials from which an intelligent study of the problems may be made, but because it makes a sane and masterly analysis of the facts in their relation to fundamental principles of social organization.

U. G. WEATHERLY

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The State and Government. By JAMES QUAYLE DEALEY. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1921. Pp. xiv+409. \$3.00.

This volume is a revision of the author's earlier book, *The Development of the State*, but it is essentially a new book. Seven chapters have been added and the old material has been thoroughly revised. It is an excellent general summary of government as a social institution. It is intended to serve as an introductory text in political science and to provide a background for the study of specific national governments.

The earlier chapters are devoted to definitions, to the development of economic regulation and political government, to explanations of sovereign powers, and to the differentiation of social institutions. The distinction between state and government is made clear both by careful definition and by discussion of this subject in a brief chapter. Sovereignty is the distinguishing characteristic of the state, but this does not give validity to the objections of the advocates of syndicalism or guild socialism who fear what they call the "absolute state." It is pointed out that such objections are based on a misunderstanding of the terms state and government, state and society, law and ethics. In the author's opinion absolute sovereignty of the state is entirely compatible with the most radical democracy on the one hand or the most extreme governmental autocracy on the other. Government is the definite political organization to which is intrusted the right to exercise the sovereign powers of the state. The power of the government is not coterminous with the power of the state. A government does not have absolute power against which the people have no rights, not even the right of revolution. Four examples are cited to show the means by which in the course of centuries the danger to liberty in identifying state with government has been

averted: (1) the doctrine of popular sovereignty, (2) fundamental law, (3) separation of powers, (4) Mariglio's conciliar theory, first stated with respect to the church and later applied to the state.

Professor Dealey insists that the ancestry of the state proper traces back to the war band of primitive civilization, while the development of political government is to be traced through tribal organization and the patriarchy (pp. 2, 5, 28 ff., 267). "Welfare," he says, "is the primary activity of the state" (p. 162), "even in these modern days admittedly the prime duty of the state is war" (p. 4). This is not to say that *government* has as its chief function warfare and preparation for war, but he goes so far as to say in another connection that "the organization of the war band was probably the beginnings of political government" (p. 147) and that in times of peace "there has been a steady encroachment of the state on the functions usually exercised by social agencies" (p. 268). Has this been an "encroachment" of *government* or of *state*? It is difficult to maintain consistently even a clearly defined distinction between the state and government.

In the discussion of the organization of government and democracy the threefold division of government is abandoned and the following is substituted: (1) the legal sovereign, maker of fundamental law; (2) the lawmaking department, making statutes; (3) the executive, from which is differentiating (4) the administrative; (5) the judicial system; from which is separating (in the United States) (6) a special court for the authoritative interpretation of the written constitution; (7) the electorate, which is steadily increasing its powers at the expense of the three historic departments of government" (p. 173).

Professor Dealey thinks "it is well-nigh impossible to get a clear understanding of government unless one considers the electorate as a fourth department." Separate chapters are devoted to these several divisions of government and to policies in government and the growth of democracy.

This volume represents one method of approach to the teaching of political science. It is an effective text, probably there is none better, for the instructor to use who prefers the historical method. It is not a useful text for one who prefers to approach the subject from the standpoint of the existing political organization, leading up to theory, and has the facilities at hand for using this method. Under these circumstances, however, he should not overlook its serviceableness in a course on political theory.

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